

Message Text

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SECDEF FOR ASD (PA) MR. HULLIN; USIA FOR IPS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP

SUBJECT: RUMSFELD PRESS CONFERENCE

FOLLOWING IS TRANSCRIPT OF PRESS CONFERENCE HELD AT
AMERICAN EMBASSY LONDON TODAY THURSDAY NOVEMBER 18 BY
DEFENSE SECRETARY DONALD RUMSFELD, AS LEADER OF THE
AMERICAN DELEGATION TO THE TWENTIETH HALF-YEARLY MEETING
OF THE NATO NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP.

SECRETARY RUMSFELD: I'D LIKE TO MAKE A COUPLE OF
REMARKS BEFORE I TAKE QUESTIONS. WE HAD GOOD MEETING.
I'M CERTAINLY APPRECIATIVE OF THE HOSPITALITY OF THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DEFENCE, MINISTER MULLEY, AND
HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT. I HAVE ATTENDED NOW ABOUT
SEVEN OF THE TWENTY NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP MEETINGS -
FOUR AS AMBASSADOR TO NATO AND THEN THREE AS SECRETARY
OF DEFENSE - AND THERE IS NO DOUBT IN MY MIND THAT
THE NPG IS ONE OF THE MOST VALUABLE OF THE NATO INSTI-
TUTIONS. WE ARE ABLE TO DISCUSS VERY SENSITIVE MATTERS
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IN A CONFIDENTIAL FORUM, HAVE A GOOD EXCHANGE OF VIEWS

AND CERTAINLY THIS IS IMPORTANT IN VIEW OF THE STEADILY EXPANDING CAPABILITIES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WARSAW PACT. I MIGHT MAKE ANOTHER PERSONAL OBSERVATION. AS AN OBSERVER AND PARTICIPANT IN ALLIANCE AFFAIRS, MY STRONG SENSE IS THAT THE ALLIANCE IS HEALTHY, IT'S FUNCTIONING. WE READ FROM TIME TO TIME AND HEAR FROM TIME TO TIME OVER THE 26 YEARS OF THIS ORGANIZATIONS' EXISTENCE, THAT IT'S HANGING ON BY A THIN THREAD, THAT IT'S IN PERIL OF EXPIRING AND IN POINT OF FACT IT HAS MANAGED TO GO THROUGH 26 YEARS AND IS TODAY IN MY JUDGEMENT AT A PEAK FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE SMOOTHNESS OF THE CONSULTATION, THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE INSTITUTION IN HELPING TO EVOLVE COMMON PERSPECTIVES ON IMPORTANT PROBLEMS, IT'S A VERY INTIMATE RELATIONSHIP AND IT WORKS. I THINK IT'S APPROPRIATE FROM TIME TO TIME TO ADMIT THAT. I UNDERSTAND THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND MR. MULLEY WILL BE HAVING A MEETING WITH YOU THIS AFTER-NOON. I AM SURE THEY WILL POINT OUT THAT IN THE NPG MEETING WE DISCUSSED THE FULL RANGE OF NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES, WE OBVIOUSLY REAFFIRMED THE FACT THAT IT IS THE NATO TRIAD OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR, THEATER NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES THAT TOGETHER PROVIDE THE DETERRENT. WE DISCUSSED THE NECESSITY FOR ALLIED GOVERNMENTS TO ASSURE THEIR COLLECTIVE STRENGTH, THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUING TO MODERNISE THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE TRIAD AS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THAT DETERRENT. THE UNITED STATES OF COURSE HAS BEEN ENGAGED IN THE MODERNIZATION PROGRAM, ENSURING THE SURVIVABILITY OF THE SYSTEMS AND KEEPING THEM COUPLED TO THE NATO DETERRENT. IT CERTAINLY IS IMPORTANT THAT ALL THE ALLIED NATIONS CONTRIBUTE TO THIS EFFORT. WE DISCUSSED THE CONTINUING AND NEEDED MODERNIZATION PROGRAM FOR NUCLEAR

(#) NEW TECHNOLOGIES BOTH TO NUCLEAR

AS WELL AS CONVENTIONAL FORCES. WE REVIEWED THE PROCEDURES WHICH WOULD ASSIST THE ALLIANCE LEADERSHIP IN CONSULTATION DURING A CRISIS. WE, OF COURSE,
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HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY CONSCIOUS OF THE STEPS WHICH THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN TAKING TO INCREASE AND EXPAND ITS MILITARY CAPABILITIES. THEIR EFFORTS IN MY JUDGEMENT, SEEM DIRECTED TO TAKING THE SOVIETS BEYOND WHAT WOULD BE REQUIRED FOR DEFENSE ALONE. FOR EXAMPLE, OVER THE PAST DECADE THE SOVIET DEFENSE SPENDING HAS BEEN INCREASING STEADILY IN REAL TERMS. IN THAT SAME PERIOD THE SOVIET MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT HAS EXPANDED

FROM ABOUT 3.4 MILLION MEN UNDER ARMS TO 4.4 MILLION MEN. BETWEEN 1965 AND 1975, SOVIET STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE FORCES HAVE INCREASED IN TERMS OF THEIR ICBMS, THEIR SLBMS AND STRATEGIC WARHEADS AND BOMBS. SINCE THE EARLY 1960S, SOVIET GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES HAVE EXPANDED SUBSTANTIALLY. THEY HAVE INCREASED THEIR DIVISIONS FROM 141 TO 168, ADDED NEARLY 2,000 TACTICAL AIRCRAFT AND SUBSTANTIALLY IMPROVED THE SOPHISTICATION OF THEIR MILITARY CAPABILITIES, AS WELL AS EXPANDING THE RANGE AND CAPABILITIES OF THEIR NAVAL FORCES. IN RECENT

NOTE BY OC/T: (#) OMISSION, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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YEARS THE SOVIETS HAVE GREATLY INCREASED THEIR INVESTMENT IN ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY AND RESEARCH IN THE WHOLE RUSSIAN MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX. THEIR CAPABILITIES AS A RESULT HAVE BEEN INCREASINGLY SOPHISTICATED. SINCE THE EARLY 1960S, AS YOU KNOW, THE UNITED STATES FORCE LEVELS AND DEFENSE EXPENDITURES IN REAL TERMS HAVE BEEN

GOING DOWN. THERE'S NO QUESTION BUT THAT THE DETERRENT REMAINS VALID TODAY, BUT THE TRENDS OVER THAT DECADE AND A HALF HAD CLEARLY BEEN ADVERSE, GIVEN THE STEADY EXPANSION OF SOVIET AND WARSAW PACT CAPABILITIES. AS A RESULT OF THAT LAST YEAR THE UNITED STATES BUDGET SUBMISSION FOR FISCAL 1977 SOUGHT TO REVERSE THOSE ADVERSE TRENDS. THE PRESIDENT SUBMITTED A BUDGET TO CONGRESS WHICH NOT ONLY PROVIDED FULL COMPENSATION FOR INFLATION EFFECT, BUT WHICH PROVIDED IN ADDITION SUBSTANTIAL INCREASES IN REAL TERMS. THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THROUGH THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN LARGE MEASURE SUPPORTED THAT REQUEST, GRANTED BUDGET AUTHORITY WHICH IS ABOUT \$13 PLUS BILLION HIGHER THAN WE RECEIVED FOR FISCAL YEAR 1976. IN SHORT, THE UNCLASSIFIED

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AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE RECOGNISED THAT THESE ADVERSE TRENDS COULD NOT CONTINUE WITHOUT INJECTING A FUNDAMENTAL INSTABILITY INTO THE WORLD EQUATION. THE PATTERN OF REPEATED CUTS BY THE CONGRESS OF SUCCESSIVE PRESIDENTS OF BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES' DEFENSE BUDGETS TALLING ABOUT \$48 BILLION IN THE LAST DECADE, ABOUT \$38 BILLION IN THE LAST SIX OR SEVEN YEARS, \$7 BILLION LAST YEAR ALONE, HAS IN FACT BEEN ARRESTED AND REVERSED. I THINK WE NOW IN THE UNITED STATES ARE ON A PATH WHICH IS SENSIBLE, WHICH IS GOING TO ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO CONTINUE TO CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE WORLD IN A SENSIBLE WAY. THE FACTS THAT LED PRESIDENT FORD AND ME AND THE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THOSE ADVERSE TRENDS HAD TO BE REVERSED ARE COMPELLING. THOSE SAME FACTS, I BELIEVE ARE GOING TO PROVE TO BE PERSUASIVE TO OUR ALLIES IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION, AND I AM HOPEFUL THAT THOSE FACTS AND THE WORK OF THOSE INTERESTED IN THIS SUBJECT, WHO VALUE PEACE, VALUE FREEDOM, WILL RESULT IN A SITUATION WHERE THE NECESSARY RESOURCES BY THE ALLIED COUNTRIES WILL, IN FACT, BE PUT IN TO ALLIANCE COLLECTIVE DEFENSE, BECAUSE THERE'S NO QUESTION BUT THAT IT'S NECESSARY FOR OUR DEFENSE AND THE NECESSARY DETERRENTS. I'LL BE HAPPY TO RESPOND TO QUESTIONS.

QUESTION: MR. RUMSFELD, WAS THERE ANY CONCERN EXPRESSED BY YOUR FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE NPG CONCERNING PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER'S VIEW OF NATO. DID YOU BRING ASSURANCES TO THEM FROM THE NEW ADMINISTRATION?

RUMSFELD: THE ANSWER TO THE FIRST PART OF THE QUESTION IS 'NO'. THE PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER'S POLICIES WERE NOT A SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION IN THE NPG. THE ANSWER TO THE SECOND PART OF THE QUESTION IS THAT I HAVE BEEN

IN DISCUSSION WITH THE TRANSITION OFFICER THAT PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER HAS DESIGNATED BY TELEPHONE. I WILL BE MEETING WITH HIM WHEN I GO BACK, BUT IT'S PREMATURE TO BE DISCUSSING THE POLICIES OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. ON THE OTHER HAND I THINK THAT FACTS ARE FACTS, THE REALITIES OF THE WORLD WE LIVE IN DON'T CHANGE FROM ADMINISTRATION TO ADMINISTRATION, BUT BE SURE THERE
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ARE DIFFERENT APPROACHES THAT ARE TAKEN FROM TIME TO TIME, BUT THERE IS NO QUESTION BUT THAT THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION AND THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE ARE THE CORNERSTONE OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY AND THERE IS NO DOUBT IN MY MIND NOR IN MY JUDGEMENT IN OTHER PEOPLE'S MINDS ABOUT THAT FUNDAMENTAL.

QUESTION: BRITAIN'S ARMED FORCES HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED AS BEING "PATHETIC" WITHIN THE UNITED STATES. DO YOU SUBSCRIBE TO THAT VIEW?

RUMSFELD: THE INDIVIDUAL WHO HAD AN INTERVIEW WITH A CARTOONIST, HAD A PRESS CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS THE FULL RANGE OF SUBJECTS THAT WERE DISCUSSED IN THAT INTERVIEW AND IT STRIKES ME THAT IF ANYONE WOULD READ IT THEY WOULD MANAGE TO BE ABLE TO PUT THAT SUBJECT INTO PROPER PERSPECTIVE. I HAVE FOUND THAT THE INDIVIDUAL FORCES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM ARE ABLE AND READY AND VALUED ALLIES IN THE ALLIANCE. AND I CERTAINLY AM HOPEFUL THAT ALL COUNTRIES IN THE ALLIANCE WILL MAINTAIN THE NECESSARY LEVEL OF DEFENSE EFFORT, SO THAT THE ALLIANCE WILL REMAIN STRONG AND HEALTHY.

QUESTION: ASIDE FROM NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES, THERE

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SEEMS TO BE SOME CONCERN THESE DAYS ABOUT A SOVIET
BUILDUP OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EASTERN EUROPE, WHICH
MANY THINK MIGHT BE MORE LIKELY THAN A NUCLEAR WAR. HOW
DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THAT?

RUMSFELD: I THINK THAT WITHOUT WANTING TO INJECT MYSELF
INTO THE PRESS CONFERENCE THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
AND MR. MULLEY WILL HAVE THIS AFTERNOON, I THINK IT
IS ACCURATE TO SAY THAT THERE IS NOT ONLY ON MY PART
AND WITHIN THE UNITED STATES BUT I THINK THROUGHOUT
THE ALLIANCE A SENSITIVITY TO THE FACT THAT
THE NATURE OF THE WORLD TODAY AND THE NATURE OF WEAPONS

TODAY. THE REALITY OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR PARITY OR ROUGH
EQUIVALENCE, THE REALITY OF THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES
ON BOTH SIDES, DOES, AS YOUR QUESTION SUGGESTS, FORCE
REASONABLE PEOPLE TO THE CONCLUSION THAT IT IS THE
CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITY ON THE PART OF THE NATO ALLIANCE
WHICH IS OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE TO ASSURING THAT
WE HAVE IN FACT DETERRENTS ACROSS THE SPECTRUM. IT IS
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NOT POSSIBLE TO TAKE THE VARIOUS RANGE OF CAPABILITIES
AND PUT THEM IN NEAT PIGEON HOLES AND PRETEND THEY
ARE UNRELATED. THEY, IN FACT, ARE VERY DIRECTLY

RELATED AND THE GOAL OF COURSE OF THIS ALLIANCE OF
OUR ALLIANCE AND OF THE UNITED STATES IS TO HAVE THE
ASSURANCE THAT WE HAVE, IN FACT, TAKEN THE STEPS
NECESSARY TO PROVIDE THIS ACROSS THE SPECTRUM.

THAT MEANS THAT IF ONE LOOKS AT THE CIRCUMSTANCE ALONG THE NATO/WARSAW PACT LINE, THAT THE UNITED STATES AND OUR ALLIES HAVE TO SEE THAT WE PUT THE NECESSARY EFFORT INTO STRENGTHENING OUR GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES, INTO SEEING THAT THERE IS NOT AN IMBALANCE THAT OCCURS THERE THAT IS AN ENTICEMENT TO AN ADVENTURE THAT MIGHT OTHERWISE BE AVOIDED. I, PERSONALLY, HAVE BEEN SINCE MY TIME AS AMBASSADOR TO NATO AND CERTAINLY AS SECRETARY OF DEFENSE VERY ATTENTIVE TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONVENTIONAL SIDE. IT HAPPENS THAT WE HAVE JUST BEEN ATTENDING A NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP MEETING WHICH HAS AS ITS PRINCIPAL FOCUS NUCLEAR WEAPONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, I CAN SAY THERE WAS A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NUCLEAR FORCES AND THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES AND A SENSITIVITY TO THE POINT YOU ARE MAKING.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, ONE OF THE BIG CAMPAIGN ISSUES IN THE UNITED STATES WAS THAT MR. FORD'S POLICIES ON DETENTE WERE A LITTLE SOFT. DO YOU SEE CARTER TAKING A HARDER LINE ON THAT WITH THE SOVIETS OR ANYTHING BIG HAPPENING IN EUROPE ON TROOP REDUCTIONS?

RUMSFELD: I'M NOT SURE I WOULD QUITE CHARACTERISE THE CAMPAIGN THE WAY YOU DID. THERE MAY HAVE BEEN REFERENCES TO THAT EFFECT, BUT CERTAINLY THE PRESIDENT IS AN INDIVIDUAL WHO BY WORD AND ACTION HAS DEMONSTRATED HIS CONVICTION THAT THE PEACE AND STABILITY IN THIS WORLD ARE GOING TO BE ACHIEVED BY VIGILANCE BY STRENGTH AND BY SIMULTANEOUSLY BEING WILLING TO TALK, TO ENGAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS, TO SEE IF IT'S POSSIBLE AT THIS POINT

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IN HISTORY TO ACHIEVE SOME AREAS OF INTEREST. THIS HAS BEEN OUR APPROACH, IT HAS BEEN THE APPROACH OF THE OTHER NATIONS IN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND I DON'T KNOW OF ANY FUNDAMENTAL DISAGREEMENT WITH THAT THAT WAS EXPRESSED IN THE CAMPAIGN. WITH RESPECT TO THE LATTER PORTION OF YOUR QUESTION, THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN AND IS TODAY PROPERLY SO THAT WHILE WE ARE ENGAGED IN MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTION TALKS IN VIENNA AS AN ALLIANCE AND WHILE WE ARE SEEKING TO SEE IF IT'S POSSIBLE THAT WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO REDUCE FORCE LEVELS AND SIMULTANEOUSLY MAINTAIN THE NECESSARY SECURITY OF THE ALLIANCE, IT WOULD BE AMONG THE WORST THINGS THAT COULD HAPPEN FOR ANY NATION OF THE ALLIANCE OR FOR THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE DURING THOSE NEGOTIATIONS TO ENGAGE IN UNILATERAL TROOP REDUCTIONS. IT WOULD DEFY LOGIC FOR THE UNITED STATES OR ANY OTHER COUNTRY TO DO IT. THAT IS TRUE

BECAUSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, IT'S TRUE BECAUSE OF THE
POINT I MADE EARLIER CONCERNING THE FACT THAT THE
CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITY IS CRITICAL TO THE EFFECTIVENESS
OF THE ENTIRE DETERRENT. IT IS TRUE BECAUSE ALL OF
US HAVE AS OUR GOAL, TAKING THE STEPS NECESSARY TO
ASSURE OURSELVES THAT THE NUCLEAR THRESHOLD IS HIGH,
AND THERE IS NO BETTER WAY TO LOWER THE NUCLEAR THRESHOLD
THAN TO UNILATERALLY REDUCE TROOPS IN EUROPE. SO I JUST
DON'T SEE IT HAPPENING. I THINK THAT THE RAISING OF
IT PERIODICALLY IS MOSTLY BY PEOPLE WHO DON'T
UNDERSTAND WHAT'S GOING ON WHO DON'T UNDERSTAND THE

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COMPELLING REALITIES THAT EXIST AND I DON'T THINK THAT
REASONABLE PEOPLE WHEN THEY SIT DOWN AND ADDRESS THESE
FACTS WOULD EVEN OFFER SUCH A SUGGESTION. NOR AM I
AWARE OF ANYBODY IN THE UNITED STATES IN EITHER POLITICAL
PARTY MAKING SUCH PROPOSALS WHETHER THIS
ADMINISTRATION OR THE ADMINISTRATION TO COME IN.
FURTHERMORE, I WOULD ADD THAT IF ONE LOOKS AT THE

LIFECYCLE OF THE SO-CALLED MANSFIELD AMENDMENT WHICH WAS DESIGNED TO DO JUST THAT, IF I'M NOT MISTAKEN, IF YOU CHARTED THE VOTING IN THE SENATE ON THAT ISSUE YOU WOULD FIND THAT IT REACHED ITS HIGH-WATER MARK THREE OR FOUR YEARS AGO, AND IT HAS BEEN GOING DOWN IN TERMS OF THE SUPPORT IT HAS HAD. IT IS AN ERODING ISSUE, AT BEST.

QUESTION: MR. RUMSFELD, COULD YOU SAY, DO YOU EXPECT SALT II TO BE SIGNED, AND COULD YOU GIVE YOUR CONSIDERED OPINION ON THE USEFULNESS OF SIGNING THAT?

RUMSFELD: NOONE WHO IS ENGAGED IN ANY MANNER IN A NEGOTIATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION COULD PREDICT THAT
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NEGOTIATIONS OF THAT TYPE WOULD ULTIMATELY RESULT IN AN AGREEMENT. WHEN YOU ENGAGE IN A NEGOTIATION LIKE THAT YOU SIMPLY DO NOT SAY 'WELL, I'M GOING TO NEGOTIATE AND AGREE', BECAUSE THAT WOULD SUGGEST YOU ARE WILLING TO AGREE TO ANYTHING, AND, OF COURSE, THAT WOULD NOT BE IN OUR NATIONAL SECURITY INTEREST. CONVERSELY, WHAT YOU DO IS YOU SAY, 'I WILL NEGOTIATE, I WILL TALK, I WILL DISCUSS IT, I WILL PROBE, I WILL SEEK OUT AND SEE WHETHER AT THIS POINT IN HISTORY IT HAPPENS THAT OUR INTERESTS CONVERGE FOR WHATEVER REASON, AND THAT IN FACT IN THOSE AREAS WHERE OUR INTERESTS CONVERGE WE CAN HAVE REASONABLY HIGH CONFIDENCE THAT WE CAN VERIFY WHATEVER IS AGREED TO'. AND THAT IS WHAT THE PROCESS IS. THEREFORE, THERE IS NO WAY THAT ANYONE THAT I KNOW OF ENGAGED IN THIS PROCESS CAN PREDICT EITHER THAT WE WILL BE SUCCESSFUL OR THAT WE WILL NOT BE SUCCESSFUL. THE ONLY THING WE CAN SAY WITH CERTAINTY IS THAT WE ARE PROCEEDING, WE ARE DOING IT SENSIBLY, WE ARE DOING IT PRUDENTLY, WE ARE DOING IT CAUTIOUSLY, WE ARE DOING IT WITH A FULL EYE TO THE IMPLICATIONS OF THAT NEGOTIATION TO OUR ALLIES IN THE ALLIANCE AS WELL AS TO THE UNITED STATES. I THINK IT IS A USEFUL EFFORT, I AM GLAD WE ARE TRYING TO DO IT AND I WOULDN'T EVEN BEGIN TO TRY TO PREDICT WHAT THE OUTCOME WOULD BE.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY. CAN YOU TELL US HOW YOU WOULD DESCRIBE OR CHARACTERISE THE GROWING BUILDUP OF SOVIET NUCLEAR DELIVERY SYSTEMS, PARTICULARLY IN EUROPE, AND WHAT DO YOU THINK WE SHOULD BE DOING ABOUT IT?

RUMSFELD: THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN BUSY. THEY HAVE BEEN BUSY IN TERMS OF THEIR LEVEL OF EFFORT, THEY HAVE BEEN BUSY IN TERMS OF THE ACTUAL WEAPONS THAT THEY HAVE BEEN PRODUCING, THEY HAVE BEEN BUSY IN TERMS OF

EXPANDING PRODUCTION RATES, THEY HAVE BEEN BUSY IN TERMS OF EXPANDING THEIR INSTITUTIONAL CAPABILITY TO PRODUCE ADDITIONAL WEAPONS AT ADDITIONAL RATES, THEY HAVE BEEN BUSY IN TERMS OF EXPANDING THEIR CAPABILITY TO INCREASINGLY IMPROVE THE SOPHISTICATION OF THOSE WEAPONS. THEY HAVE BEEN DOING IT STEADILY. IT HAS NOT BEEN A UNCLASSIFIED

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MARKED INCREASE. WHAT IT HAS BEEN IS YEAR AFTER YEAR AFTER YEAR THEY HAVE BEEN DEMONSTRATING THAT THEY HAVE STEADINESS OF PURPOSE, THAT THEY ARE PURPOSEFUL ABOUT WHAT THEY ARE DOING. NOW, YOUR QUESTION IS, WHAT OUGHT ONE TO BE DOING ABOUT THAT? AND THE ANSWER IS THAT THE GOAL FOR THE FEW NATIONS ON THIS GLOBE WHO BELIE IN SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THEMSELVES AND FOR OTHERS IS TO ASSURE THAT WE BEHAVE OURSELVES AND CONDUCT OURSELVES IN A WAY THAT CONTRIBUTES TO PEACE AND STABILITY, AND THAT MEANS, IN MY JUDGEMENT, THAT WE HAVE TO ASSURE THAT WE HAVE THE MILITARY CAPABILITY ACROSS THE SPECTRUM THAT ARE PERSUASIVE TO THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WARSAW PACT NATIONS THAT IS, IN FACT, NOT IN THEIR INTEREST TO ENGAGE IN ADVENTURES. WE ARE DOING THAT, WE HAVE BEEN DOING IT OVER A PERIOD OF TIME. WE HAVE AN ALLIANCE BY CONSENT, NOT BY COMMAND. THE WARSAW PACT HAS FEWER PROBLEMS IN TERMS OF HOW THEY THEMSELVES, THEY DO IT BY DIRECTION. IN THE ALLIANCE, WE DO IT THROUGH CONSULTATION AND SOMETIMES IT TAKES A LITTLE LONGER, BUT IT'S A VERY INTIMATE RELATIONSHIP AND I'M SATISFIED THAT THAT ALLIANCE CONSULTATION PROCESS WHICH IS LEADING US TOWARDS AN ASSURANCE THAT WE HAVE THAT EFFECTIVE DEFENCE CAPABILITY AND THEREFORE THE

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DETERRENTS NECESSARY IS PROGRESSING.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, YOU SAID EARLIER THAT IT WOULD DEFY LOGIC FOR ANY MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE UNILATERALLY TO REDUCE ITS CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE. BUT THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER HAS RECENTLY HINTED THAT ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES MIGHT COMPEL HIM TO DO JUST THAT AS FAR AS RHINE ARMY IS CONCERNED, IF THE SUPPORT WAS NOT FORTHCOMING FOR THE POUND. WHAT IS YOUR COMMENT ON THAT?

RUMSFELD: WELL, MY COMMENT WOULD BE A CAREFUL ONE. FIRST OF ALL, I'M NOT QUITE WILLING TO CONCEDE THAT YOU HAVE PROVIDED THIS GROUP WITH AN INCLUSIVE ILLUSTRATION OF WHAT THE GOVERNMENT LEADERS IN THIS COUNTRY HAVE BEEN SAYING ON THAT SUBJECT. I THINK I COULD FIND NUMEROUS DECLARATIONS ON THEIR PART OF THEIR RECOGNITION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ALLIANCE, THEIR RECOGNITION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONTRIBUTION THEY ARE MAKING TO THE ALLIANCE, THEIR DETERMINATION TO DO EVERYTHING UNCLASSIFIED

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HUMANLY POSSIBLE TO SEE THAT THAT CONTRIBUTION CONTINUES, AND I APPLAUD THOSE COMMENTS. I GUESS I ANSWERED THAT PRETTY WELL.

QUESTION: ONE SUPPLEMENTARY, SIR, ON YOUR COMMENTS ABOUT THE SOVIET NUCLEAR BUILD-UP, DO YOU REGARD THAT BUILDUP AS CONTRADICTORY TO THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT?

RUMSFELD: WELL, IF ONE LOOKS AT THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT, THERE ARE A GREAT MANY THINGS THAT THE AGREEMENT ENCOMPASSED' SOME SPECIFICS AS WELL AS A MOOD. IT

STRIKES ME THAT WHAT WE SEE HAPPENING IS A DEMONSTRATED INTEREST IN ACHIEVING AN EXPANDING AND RELATIVELY IMPROVING MILITARY CAPABILITY ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET UNION. MY RECOLLECTION IS THAT THERE IS NOTHING IN THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT THAT SUGGESTS THAT NATIONS SUBSCRIBING TO IT HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO AVOID IMPROVING THEIR MILITARY CAPABILITIES EITHER ABSOLUTELY OR RELATIVELY. SO I WOULD THINK THAT THEIR ANSWER WOULD BE 'NO' IN THE SPECIFIC. NOW AS I INDICATED, THE AGREEMENT ALSO CREATES A MOOD WHICH CLEARLY THEIR CAPABILITIES WHICH IT IS OBVIOUSLY NECESSARY FOR US TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF ARE OBVIOUSLY GROWING.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, DO YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION THAT THE SOVIET SS20 HAS ALREADY BEEN DEPLOYED, AND IF NOT, WHAT DO YOU THINK IS HOLDING IT UP?

RUMSFELD: THE ANSWER IS: NO, I DO NOT AT THE PRESENT TIME HAVE INFORMATION THAT IT HAS ALREADY BEEN DEPLOYED. WE ANTICIPATE ITS DEPLOYMENT AT ANY TIME. THERE ARE A VARIETY OF THINGS THAT COULD AFFECT THE TIMING OF ITS ACTUAL DEPLOYMENT. BUT I DON'T KNOW WITH CERTAINTY THAT IT'S EVEN BEING HELD UP' I'M NOT PRIVY TO WHAT THEIR PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT SCHEDULES ARE. THE FACT IS THOUGH THAT TO MY KNOWLEDGE IT HAS NOT, THOUGH TO MY KNOWLEDGE IT IS READY FOR DEPLOYMENT OR NEARLY READY OR APPARENTLY NEARLY READY.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, WHAT HAS THE ALLIANCE DECIDED TO DO ABOUT THE SS20 AT THE GROUP MEETING AND DO YOU UNCLASSIFIED

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THINK THAT THE SS20 IS A WAY OF TRYING TO GET ROUND BOTH THE SALT AND THE FORCE REDUCTION TALKS?

RUMSFELD: I HAVE ALWAYS FOUND THAT IT'S AT BEST AN IMPERFECT APPROACH AND ON OCCASION UNHELPFUL TO THINK THAT YOU CAN LOOK AT A SPECIFIC CAPABILITY AMONG THE WHOLE PANOPLY OF SYSTEMS AND SAY TO YOURSELF WHAT DO I DO ABOUT THAT ONE' BECAUSE TO DO THAT YOU COULD END UP CHASING YOUR TAIL. IN POINT OF FACT, WHAT ONE OUGHT TO IT SEEMS TO ME, IS TO NOT TAKE ONE IN ISOLATION BUT RATHER AS A NEW DEVELOPMENT EVOLVES, LOOK AT IT, ASK YOURSELF THE QUESTION IN WHAT WAYS DOES THAT AFFECT THE TOTAL CAPABILITY WITH RESPECT TO THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WARSAW PACT, AND TO WHAT WAY DOES THAT ALTERATION, ADJUSTMENT OR EVOLUTION INTERACT WITH OUR TOTAL CAPABILITY TO DETER AND DEFEND. AND THEN ONE ESTABLISHES PRIORITIES FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE ALLIANCE AS TO HOW WE WANT TO INCREMENTALLY IMPROVE OR AFFECT THE TOTAL

CAPABILITY ON OUR PART FOR DEFENCE AND DETERRENCE, SO I AM NOT LOOKING AS IT WERE FOR A SPECIFIC COUNTERPOINT TO A SPECIFIC WEAPON, NORMALLY. AND IN THIS INSTANCE I'M NOT.

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QUESTION: BUT DO YOU THINK THAT THE SS20 IS A WAY OF TRYING TO GET ROUND DIPLOMATICALLY BOTH THE SALT AND THE FORCE REDUCTION TALKS, BECAUSE IT FALLS BETWEEN NEITHER OF THOSE?

RUMSFELD: THAT IS EQUALLY TRUE OF THEIR INTERMEDIATE AND MEDIUM RANGE SYSTEMS THAT THEY HAVE HAD PREVIOUSLY. WE ARE FREE MEN. WE HAVE ENGAGED IN THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS KNOWING WHAT THE PARAMETERS OF THAT WERE, THAT IT INVOLVED CENTRAL SYSTEMS. WE'RE BIG BOYS, WE ENGAGED IN MBFR, KNOWING WHAT THE PARAMETERS OF THAT AND THE LIMITATIONS, THAT IT INVOLVES THE NATO GUIDELINE AREA, AND ONLY CERTAIN TYPES OF SYSTEMS. SO THAT

DOESN'T COME AS ANY GREAT SURPRISE. WERE I TO ANSWER YOUR QUESTION, IT WOULD SUGGEST THAT I COULD CLIMB INTO THE MINES OF ALL OF THE INDIVIDUALS IN THE SOVIET UNION WHO MAKE THESE JUDGEMENTS AND KNOW WITH CERTAINTY WHAT THEIR INTENT WAS. I'M NOT CAPABLE OF DOING THAT AND I AM SURE YOU KNOW I'M NOT. EVERYONE CAN HAVE THEIR OWN
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OPINION ABOUT IT. THERE IS AT QUESTION WHAT THE EFFECT IS. THE EFFECT IS THAT THERE IS A SYSTEM THAT YOU CAN LOOK AT, YOU CAN GAIN SOME SENSE AS TO WHAT ITS TOTAL NUMBERS AND TOTAL WARHEADS AND LAUNCHERS AND MISSILES ARE. YOU CAN MAKE SOME JUDGEMENTS AS TO WHAT THE DEPLOYMENT OF THAT IN A MOBILE MODE WILL MEAN. YOU CAN THEN LOOK AT THEIR TOTAL CAPABILITY AND SEE HOW DOES THAT FIT INTO IT, BUT I WOULDN'T WALK DOWN THE ROAD YOU'RE WALKING DOWN. I'M PLUCKY, BUT I'M NOT STUPID, AS PIERRE SALINGER ONCE SAID.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, A MOMENT AGO YOU MADE REFERENCE TO THE MODERNIZATION OF FORCES IN WESTERN EUROPE, COULD YOU BE MORE SPECIFIC ABOUT THAT. ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT A GREATER "DEPTH-TIME", I THINK IS THE PROPER PHRASE, OF DEFENCE?

RUMSFELD: NO I WASN'T. I WAS REFERRING TO THE FACT THAT IF ONE LOOKS AT STRATEGIC SYSTEMS, FOR EXAMPLE, WE KNOW THAT AS THE YEARS PASS THE B52 DOESN'T GET YOUNGER, IT GETS OLDER, AND THAT AS TECHNOLOGY ADVANCES THE CAPABILITY OF THAT SYSTEM TO PENETRATE DIMINISHES, AS THE TECHNOLOGY IN AIR DEFENCE AND SOFORTH IMPROVES. SO ONE LOGICALLY LOOKS AT HOW YOU MODERNISE THAT FORCE. IF ONE MOVES TO THEATER FORCES, IT'S EQUALLY TRUE OF TACTICAL AIRCRAFT, FOR EXAMPLE. THESE SYSTEMS GET SOME YEARS ON THEM, NEW TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPS GREATER CAPABILITIES, THE SOVIET UNION INVESTS IN THOSE CAPABILITIES, DEVELOPS A CAPABILITY AND ONE LOOKS THEN AT HOW THE RELATIONSHIP LOOKS AND SAYS: WELL, WE HAD BETTER GET BUSY HERE AND SEE THAT WE HAVE THE KINDS OF CAPABILITIES THAT WE CAN BE REASONABLY CERTAIN THAT WE CAN HAVE ANOTHER 26 YEARS OF PEACE RATHER THAN ANOTHER CONFLICT IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD, AND THERE HASN'T BEEN ONE SINCE NATO'S BEEN CREATED AND WE DON'T WANT ONE. SO IT INVOLVES NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES, IT INVOLVES CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITIES, IT'S A PART OF A PROCESS OF CONTINUING TO LOOK AT YOUR CAPABILITIES AND SEEING THAT THEY ARE MODERNISED AND SEEING THAT THEY ARE ARRANGED IN A WAY THAT MAKES SENSE TODAY RATHER THAN BEFORE.

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QUESTION: I HAVE A FOLLOW-UP TO THAT. IT HAS BEEN STATED THAT SOME OF THE FORCES, AS FOR EXAMPLE THE THE BRITISH ARMY OF THE RHINE, IS PRETTY MUCH ALL TEETH WITHOUT MUCH BACKING BEHIND. IN OTHER WORDS, YOU COULD PROBABLY INSTEAD OF HOLDING OFF FOR A WEEK OR TWO, PERHAPS ONLY TWO DAYS, BECAUSE IT'S COMPLETELY A FIGHTING UNIT WITHOUT GREAT DEPTH. THIS IS THE SORT OF THING I AM TALKING ABOUT. HOW MUCH TIME CAN THESE ARMIES, THESE FORCES HOLD, RIGHT NOW? IS THIS THE KIND OF MODERNIZATION YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT?

RUMSFELD: IT HAPPENS IT WASN'T WHAT WAS IN MY MIND. I THINK OF WHAT YOUR TALKING ABOUT IN TERMS OF READINESS, SEEING THAT WE HAVE THE CAPABILITIES THAT WE NEED FOR THE VARIETY CIRCUMSTANCES THAT COULD EVENTUATE, THAT IS TO SAY YOU COULD HAVE AN UNREINFORCED EFFORT AND HAVE TO DEAL WITH THAT, YOU COULD HAVE A REINFORCED EFFORT, WHICH WOULD BE MORE SUBSTANTIAL BUT BY THE SAME TOKEN YOU WOULD HAVE MORE TIME TO DEAL WITH IT AND YOU HAVE TO BE ABLE TO DEAL WITH THAT. YOU CAN'T ARRANGE YOURSELF TO DEAL WITH ONLY ONE CIRCUMSTANCE, YOU HAVE TO BE ARRANGED TO DEAL WITH A VARIETY OF CIRCUMSTANCES, BECAUSE THE ASSUMPTION HAS TO BE THAT THE DETERRENT IS

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MOST EFFECTIVE AND PEACE IS BEST PRESERVED TO THE EXTENT THAT LOOKING ACROSS THE SPECTRUM THEY ARE DISSUADED FROM BELIEVING THAT IT IS TO THEIR ADVANTAGE. NOW, ONE OF THE THINGS THAT I KNOW, MY PREDECESSOR AND I WHEN I WAS AT NATO AND CERTAINLY SINCE HAVE BEEN WORKING ON IS TO TRY TO IMPROVE THE READINESS OF OUR FORCES TO TRY TO WORK WITH OUR ALLIES, TO SEE THAT THE READINESS OF THEIR FORCES IS IMPROVED, TO SEE THAT WE HAVE SUFFICIENT STOCKS AND SPARES, SO THAT WE ARE KITTED IN THE NECESSARY EXERCISES, SO THAT WE HAVE NOT SIMPLY THE RAW MATERIALS BUT ALSO THE FORCE THAT IS CAPABLE OF PROVIDING THAT DETERRENT. AND THIS IS SOMETHING THAT PRESIDENT FORD IN HIS BUDGET REQUEST TO THE CONGRESS DRAMATICALLY INCREASED THE REQUEST AND IT WAS APPROVED BY THE CONGRESS TO SEE THAT WE HAVE THAT KIND OF STRENGTHENING. IT IS SOMETHING THAT TAKES TIME. THERE'S NO QUESTION BUT THAT DURING THE VIETNAM WAR THERE WERE DRAW DOWNS OF OUR LEVEL OF EFFORT AS MONEY WENT INTO CURRENT OPERATIONS AS OPPOSED TO, FOR EXAMPLE, THINGS LIKE SHIPBUILDING. THERE'S NO QUESTION BUT THAT IT'S IMPORTANT THAT WE NOW, GIVEN UNCLASSIFIED

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THE VERY GREAT IMPORTANCE OF THE CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITY, CONTINUE TO SEE THAT IT'S STRENGTHENED.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE PROCESS OF MODERNISING YOUR THEATER NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN TERMS OF SIZE, ACCURACY AND NUCLEAR CLEANLINESS CARRIES WITH IT THE DANGER OF LOWERING THE NUCLEAR THRESHOLD IN THE EVENT OF WAR. IN OTHER WORDS, REDUCING THE ELEMENT OF DETERRENCE AND INCREASING THE ELEMENT OF WAR-FIGHTING CAPABILITY?

RUMSFELD: NO, IN POINT OF FACT, MODERNISATION OF YOUR FORCES, WHETHER IT'S THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES OR OTHER FORCES, HAS JUST THE OPPOSITE EFFECT. IT, IN MY JUDGEMENT, HELPS TO RAISE THE NUCLEAR THRESHOLD. IT CLEARLY IMPROVES, STRENGTHENS, AND MAKES MORE HEALTHY THE DETERRENT. OUR PROGRAMMES ARE DESIGNED TO DO JUST THAT. I KNOW THAT THAT IS THE GOAL AND INTENTION OF THE

ALLIANCE AND I BELIEVE THAT IS IN FACT WHAT IN PRACTICE
IS OCCURRING. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.
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